THE WORKERS'

DREADNOUGHT

Socialism, Internationalism, Votes for All.

Vol. IV.—No. 31 SATURDAY, OCTOBER 27th, 1917 Price One Penny

BOLOISM, THE PRIME MINISTER AND OTHERS.

"Again it breaks the chains of NIGHT-
to spread the light and seek for RIGHT"

REMEMBER THE SOLDIERS.

At the Albert Hall on October 22nd Mr. Lloyd George said :—

"Just think, at this moment, there are thousands, aye, tens of thousands of them, lying, have been lying, for days in bloodstained quagmires, not with a bomb dropping here and another a mile off, and then the menace vanishing into the night, but a daily, nightly deluge of death reigning around them."

With Mr. Lloyd George we realise the martyrdom of the soldiers, but we ask him: Is it worth it? Does the end justify the means? Is it necessary that this dehumanising warfare should continue? "Time is on our side," the Prime Minister assures us; but we must remind him that time is not on the side of the poor fellows in the trenches, whose feet during the winter in that quagmire will be numbed and frostbitten, and in many cases will have to be amputated. Time is not on the side of the men who are being killed and wounded, those who are being paralysed and blinded. Time is not on the side of the poor, on whom the pressure of high prices and food scarcity is falling.

MR. LLOYD GEORGE ON BOLOISMS.

Mr. Lloyd George went on to warn his hearers against "Boloism," saying :—

"The enemy, beaten on most of the battle fronts, is organising with deadly care and ingenuity behind the lines."

We protest that this is not a fair way of meeting the arguments of honest people who desire to see the war stopped by the conclusion of a people's peace. Mr. Lloyd George says: "I know what I am talking about. See what has happened in France." But what was it that really happened in France concerning Bolo?

WHAT BOLO REALLY DID.

The Manchester Guardian on October 17th gives the following account of it :—

"There seems to be no doubt that the German Government placed a large sum of money at Bolo's disposal, but there is as yet no evidence that any part of it was used for the purpose of pacifist propaganda. All the papers which Bolo Pasha is said to have subsidised are exactly the opposite of pacifist. The two with which his connection has been officially announced are the *Journal* and the *Rappel*. According to a statement made by the *Rappel* itself, he acquired half the shares in the company owning that paper early in 1915. Since that time the paper has consistently advocated the annexation to France of all the German territory on the left bank of the Rhine, and its whole policy has been intensely bellicose and Nationalist. Bolo's connection with the *Journal* dates from January, 1916, and since then the paper has never shown the slightest pacifist tendency; on the contrary, its policy has been as consistently 'jusqu' au boutiste' (to the very end) as that of the *Rappel*."

It is interesting to note that Sir Edward Carson, in demanding that the German frontiers be pushed back to the left bank of the Rhine, has adopted the same policy as Bolo's *Rappel*. Some of the French newspapers, of course, say that Germany has been swindled and has got nothing for its money, but in our opinion the Jingo-Imperialists of Germany have been very well served by Bolo, for they have been able to quote the Jingo-Imperialism of the French newspapers which Bolo has subsidised, as an evidence that Germany must continue fighting to retain her very existence as a nation. Mr. Lloyd George by such utterances as his "knock-out blow" speech, Mr. Bonar Law by such remarks as that in his speech at the Albert Hall on October 22nd, that the Germans are "fiends," seem to us to be doing Bolo's work.

CONSTRUCTIVE PROPOSALS.

Whilst Ministers are talking mere Boloisms the Russian Council of Workers' and Soldiers' Delegates and the organising committee of the Stockholm Conference have each prepared a list of serious peace proposals, which the professional politicians in whose power the destinies of the people have been placed would do well to study. The Russian Council of Workers' and Soldiers' Delegates is sending its own representative, Skobeleff, to the inter-Allied Conference. Is the British Labour Party demanding representation at this Conference?

HOW INSINUATIONS ARE MADE.

The Evening News on *The Dreadnought*: "I will not say that this pretty newspaper has a kind Bolo to pay its printer's bill. But Bolo Pasha is morally indebted to it; when he comes out of prison he should pay like an honourable Pasha for such pleasant literature. Our policemen once seized some copies of *The Dreadnought*. Now it goes free again. Our Chief of Police must be like me; he thinks Bolo Pasha is as harmless as he is comic."

Bolo Pasha subsidised jingo not pacifist papers; but we invited the *Evening News* to come down to inspect our accounts in order that it might see for itself that the insinuation was baseless. Our invitation was not accepted, but *The Evening News* published the following paragraph :—

"We have received a communication from Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, denying that the *Workers' Dreadnought*, which she edits, or the "Workers' Suffrage Federation" is financed from German or enemy sources. We have never suggested the contrary. Miss Pankhurst's desire, in her own words, is "to secure a People's Peace, on the lines of that put forward by the Russian Workers' and Soldiers' Council."

We accept the apology, and hope that the offence will not be repeated.

Of Special Interest This Week!

THE LABOUR PARTY.

By E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

"Parliament As We See It."

ANOTHER BURSTON INJUSTICE.

Those of our readers who remember the story of the Burston School Strike which was fully detailed in our issue of May 19th will easily understand our interest in the present Burston Tablet dispute. In June Henry Garnham's son was killed in the war, and his uncle, Mr. Robert Barnes Ford, erected a tablet to his memory in the Burston Church without consulting the boy's parents. It will be recalled that the Rector of the church had brought about the dismissal of the Higdons in 1914 and evicted three of the glebe tenants for standing by their children who refused to be taught by the Higdon's successor. Henry Garnham, who had supported the school strikers, was evicted amongst others. Is it likely that a man who had been so persecuted would want a tablet in memory of his son in the same church where the Rev. Charles Tucker Elland still officiated? Garnham was exasperated by the whole procedure and decided to do away with the tablet; as he could get no redress he smashed it with a hammer, for which act he got a month's hard labour. He appealed against this, with the result that the Court decided on October 10th to give one month's imprisonment, second division. Marjory Ling, whose father was also evicted by the Rector, has sent us a letter, parts of which we print below. Her plea for Mr. Garnham ought to awaken the general public to what appears to us to be a long series of petty persecutions carried on in Burston at the instigation of a minister of the Church.

"Dear Comrade,—Governess has asked me to write Mr. Garnham's case to you so that you will understand it and perhaps you can make a fuss about it as we know you will do it, and we know you are not afraid of anybody. Mr. Garnham's case about the tablet came off on Wednesday at the Quarter Sessions at Norwich. They have locked Mr. Garnham up, and there was Mrs. Garnham in a dead faint on the platform. They are both aged. Their son fought for those who put his father in prison. I thought England was a free country. They say they want so many men on the land but it does not seem like it, for locking a good working-man up like Mr. Garnham. There he is wasting his time. If Mr. Garnham had gone and smashed that tablet at first without applying for a faculty it would be all done with.

"What has Mr. Garnham done to be locked up! What tyranny! What a scandalous thing! Now is the time to fight. It is not too late. Fight and upset the big ones, and bring them down. They have ruled long enough.

"If Mr. Garnham had paid the money that it all cost it would have been settled. But where is he going to get the money? What money he does earn he has to work hard for. Oh! what money will do! They will fight for the rich who have plenty of money. We all know that nobody but a poor man like Mr. Garnham would be treated like he has been.

"You know within a little what my father and mother had to put up with. They paid the rent for the land and it has been in the family for over eighty years.

"Dear Miss Pankhurst, will you please get some resolutions and send to the Home Secretary? We know you will if you can get poor Mr. Garnham out of prison. Marjory Ling."

THE DREADNOUGHT.

The Editor has received the following letter from Mr. Snowden, M.P.

Dear Miss Pankhurst,—I have received the papers you have sent to me this morning about the action of the police about *The Dreadnought*. If the facts are as submitted they constitute the most outrageous action ever committed by the authorities during this war. I am at once going into the matter.

Believe me, Yours truly,

Philip Snowden.

A CHINESE LYRIC.
(Written 675 B.C.)

I would have gone to my lord in his need
  Have galloped there all the way,
But this is a matter concerns the State,
  And I, being a woman, must stay.
I watched them leaving the palace yard,
  In carriage and robe of state.
I would have gone by the hills and the fords;
  I know they will come too late.
I may walk in the garden and gather
  Lilies of mother-of-pearl.
I had a plan would have saved the State—
  But mine are the thoughts of a girl.
The Elder Statesmen sit on the mats,
  And wrangle through half the day,
A hundred plans they have drafted and dropped,
  And mine was the only way.

THE MONTESSORI METHOD.

A visitor to Miss Muriel Matters' Montessori class at the Mothers' Arms writes :—

"I should like to say that perhaps what struck me more than anything on Friday was the sweet and quiet activity of all the little ones. There was no nervous strain or tension anywhere. Personally I came in rather tired, but went away quite refreshed, feeling as if I had been listening to some delightful music. "Several little things happened amongst the children that I was charmed with: —— tumbled down and I believe he really hurt himself quite a little, but he was already too much of a man to cry. Though —— did not follow with the others all the musical exercises, which, of course, one would not expect, her whole little soul and body entered into the execution of 'the stooping old woman'.... I loved dainty ——, the neatness and quickness of her movements was beautiful to watch. I noticed too how ready and alert she was in making sensible little suggestions of her own. She is already a very womanly little person."*

*Aged 2½ years.

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THE LABOUR PARTY.

THE statement sent out from the Labour Party Office, concerning the proposed new constitution which the Executive has drafted, lacks precision on various matters; but when it is read in conjunction with an article by Mr. Sidney Webb in *The Sunday Observer* of October 21st, most of the doubtful points are made plain.

It is a healthy sign that the Labour Party should be seriously considering its own affairs and doing something constructive on its own account, instead of merely following the lead of the Government or criticising the Government's action on points of detail without putting forward a programme of its own. We may welcome the fact that the Labour Party is consolidating its forces, even whilst feeling that the first duty of the Party is to take strenuous action in the international movement of the peoples to bring this war to an end. Vigorous action on internal questions, as well as on international questions is at all times more essential than the actual details of the machinery of organisation. But efficient machinery provides the power to take effective action.

The suggested new constitution contains three important factors, which if agreed to, may have far-reaching effects. These are:—

1. Machinery for bringing more women into the Labour Party.

2. Machinery for enabling non-industrial and non-trade union members to be enrolled in the Labour Party.

3. Machinery for increasing in the Party territorial representation (*i.e.*, by local Labour Parties in the Parliamentary constituencies), as compared with industrial representation (*i.e.*, by nationally organised trade unions).

These factors are to be introduced in the following ways:—

1. A local Labour Party to be created in every district, consisting of the local branches of organisations affiliated to the Labour Party and individual enrolled members, men and women in separate sections: Men paying 1*s.* a year, women 6*d.* per year. These local labour parties to be affiliated to the Labour Party on the same terms as the Trade Unions, Socialist organisations and co-operative societies of which the Party is at present composed, *i.e.*, on a basis of one delegate for every 1,000 members, voting to be by card according to aggregate membership.

2. Voting for the Labour Party Executive shall be by the Labour Party as a whole, but from three lists as follows:—

(*a*) Eleven members to be elected who are nominated by the Trade Unions.

(*b*) Five members to be elected who are nominated by all the individually enrolled men.

(*c*) Four members to be elected from a list of women nominated by all the constituent bodies indiscriminately.

Let us consider first the proposal to increase the non-industrial and non-trade union elements in the Party. That this is intended by at least some of the Executive is evident. Mr. Sidney Webb in *The Observer* says:—

"Instead of a sectional and somewhat narrow group, what is aimed at now is a national party open to any one of the 16,000,000 electors agreeing with the Party programme....the great majority of married women are not eligible for membership of any trade union. It is too unreasonable to exclude from membership all the men *who do not enter through the narrow gate of trade unionism or that of membership of a definitely socialist propaganda body*....It is hoped to enrol in this way, and to enlist in the service of the Party not only many hundreds of thousands of the new working class electors, but also to attract many men and women of the shopkeeping, manufacturing, and professional classes who are dissatisfied with the old political parties."

That is the view of Mr. Sidney Webb. The Labour Party's Executive circular says:—

"It is proposed that the name of the party should remain unchanged, but that its scope should be definitely widened so as to include the political interests of all producers [by hand or by brain] without distinction of class or occupation."

Mr. Webb speaks of the "narrow gate of Trade Unionism"—a strange saying in these days, in which we are witnessing a rapid growth of Trade and Industrial Unionism; when an Agricultural Labourers' Union has recently arisen; when difficult people like clerks and shop assistants, and even domestic servants and journalists, are banding themselves into unions; whilst such an organisation as the National League of Rights for Soldiers and Sailors, whether discharged or in the Services, and for their wives and relatives, may play the part of a Trade Union some day. In examining the proposed new constitution Trade Unionists will certainly consider very seriously how the interests of organised labour might be affected by an influx into the counsels of the political labour movement of persons who are eligible to join trade unions, but fail to do so, either from lack of conviction or from the desire to evade payment of the contributions by means of which their work-mates have built up the organisations which are securing better conditions for Labour as a whole. However, it is probable that those workers who have not so far grasped the spirit of solidarity as to become members of trade or industrial unions, will not join the local Labour Parties in large numbers.

The proposal to enrol a considerable number of non-industrial members is a more serious departure from the original basis of the Party. Hitherto the non-industrial members of the Labour Movement have entered it only through the Socialist organisations, the objects of which are so precisely defined and the propaganda of which is so definitely Socialist as to deter those who are not convinced and enthusiastic Socialists from joining them. The Labour Party has not hitherto defined its objects, relying on the fact that since the main body of its membership is working class, the desire of its members must ultimately be towards working class emancipation. The proposed draft constitution, however, defines the suggested objects, some of which are:—

"To secure for the producers by hand or by brain, the full fruits of their industry and the most equitable distribution thereof that may be possible, upon the basis of the common ownership of the means of production and the best obtainable system of popular administration and control of each industry or service.

"Generally to promote the political, social, and economic emancipation of the people, and more particularly of those who depend directly upon their own exertions, by hand or by brain, for the means of life."

"To give effect as far as practicable to the principles from time to time approved by the party conference."

No possible definition of objects could make the Party so surely a Labour Party as the fact that the bulk of its members were workers. But what does Mr. Sidney Webb, presumably one of its authors, say of the policy of common ownership here laid down?—

"It is a Socialism which is no more specific than a definite repudiation of the individualism that characterised all the political parties of the past generation, and that still dominates the House of Commons. This declaration of the Labour Party leaves it open to choose from time to time whatever forms of common ownership, from the co-operative store to the nationalised railway, and whatever forms of popular administration and control of industry, from national guilds to ministries of employment and municipal management, may in particular cases commend themselves."

The Executive circular states that the scope of the Labour Party should be "definitely widened so as to include the political interests of all producers, whether by hand or brain, without distinction of class or occupation." This proposition seems to us to be a manifest impossibility so long as the present class system of society maintains the relationship of employer and employed. In the problem as to what nationalised industry is to mean to the worker lies the crux of the industrial conflicts of the future. Under the pre-war system of nationalisation, which we see in such departments as the Post Office, the workers are scarcely better off on the whole, and in some respects even worse off, than in private employment. The system of State control of munition factories, railways, and mines which has grown up during the war, has preserved capitalism and the capitalist, whilst rendering still more vigorous the conditions under which the workers are employed. The Socialism for which the workers are striving is something very far removed from the present-day partnership between the employer and the Government, in which the interests of the employing class are dominant.

Non-co-ordinated individualism, with its inevitable waste and overlapping, is daily giving place to collectivism. During the strain of war and in the lean years that follow, collective action, that is Socialism, becomes more and more a matter of necessity. As individualism disappears and collective action takes its place, the conflict will become more acute between the idea of the State dominated by a few powerful groups controlling the common folk, who are regarded as mere man-power and woman-power; and the idea of the co-operative commonwealth of workers, in which there shall be neither master nor servant, rich nor poor. In this conflict the Labour Party cannot afford to have within its own ranks elements which may weaken it by their failure to understand the workers' cause. The enrolment of individual members from the non-industrial classes, who are not eligible to join a trade union and who refuse to join a Socialist organisation, might prove a drag on the proletarian elements in the Party during the critical years which are ahead. The greatest besetting danger of the Labour Party has hitherto been that of most great organisations—namely, inability to take a strong line upon great and immediate issues, because of divisions of opinion on these issues, within its ranks. If the future Labour Party is to contain a large admixture of people from the trading and professional classes, the number of questions upon which it will be unable to reach agreement will certainly be increased; especially if, as is suggested, the Conference may only decide points in the general programme by a two-thirds majority.

We think it unlikely that a considerable proportion of non-working class members would enrol within the Labour Party under any circumstances, for a time at least; but an undue ascendancy might be secured by some of the non-working class members who might join. Five members of the Committee of twenty, as we understand from Mr. Webb's article (the official circular is not very clear), are to be elected from the nominees of the individually enrolled men. It may be that, at least for a long time to come, these men will not form anything approaching a quarter of the total membership of the Labour Party. The representation may, therefore, be grossly excessive. It is very possible that the individually enrolled women will be more numerous than the individually enrolled men, but, as we understand the statements issued, the individually enrolled women are not to be given a like privilege.

The proposal to accept individually enrolled members has most point as regards women, for masses of wives and mothers are not wage-earners, and therefore cannot enter the Labour Party through the Trade Unions. It may be said that they can enter through the I.L.P., B.S.P., Women's Labour League, or Co-operative Societies; but, in fact, only a very small proportion of them does so, just as only a small proportion of men joins the Party through such organisations. There is nothing to prove that greater numbers of working-class women will enrol as members of the Local Labour Parties than are to be found in the existing organisations. They have failed to join the existing organisations largely because the material incentive, which is closely felt in the case of the Trade Union, is more remote in the case of the Political Labour Movement. Life is so hard a struggle for the workers that masses of them have no energy to look beyond immediate benefits. If the Labour Party were to organise for the women, insurance against death, sickness, and unemployment, maternity and marriage benefits, savings banks, legal protection, and agitation against the oppressions of landlords and profiteers, it might provide in the case of women something of the incentive to join it which men feel to join their Trade Unions.

Nevertheless, even though the immediate material incentive may not be available, the attempt to induce large masses of working women to join the Labour Party is worth making.

But the fact remains that if the draft constitution, which is as vague in its statement concerning internationalism as in its dealing with national affairs, be adopted, there will be a probability that people of no settled or deep convictions may find membership of the Labour Party a convenient method of attaining to the management of people and affairs.

If the Labour Party will place itself in line with the Continental workers' movements by becoming an out-and-out Socialist Party, with a vigorous policy of attack on the present system, the self-seeking element will be unlikely to join it, and though a proportion of middle-class idealists may become members, the mass of the party will remain, as it should be, working class. The nation needs a genuine Socialist Labour Party; the creation of a new Radical Reform Party will merely lead out into a barren wilderness those of the workers who join its ranks. The Labour Party should set itself to draw up a strong working-class Socialist programme, and should act upon it vigorously and continuously. If it will do that all the various smaller Socialist organisations and unattached members will gradually be pooled within its ranks.

(*Continued on back page.*)

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY.

STOCKHOLM AND MANCHESTER.

THE decision of the Manchester and Gorton Trades Councils to invite Mr. Arthur Henderson to address a Mass Meeting in the Free Trade Hall on the subject of an International Labour Conference is both timely and important. This will bring the Stockholm idea to the front again in a most effective way. The Manchester Watch Committee has prevented a number of meetings organised by others on kindred lines, but the Committee must be fully aware that to flout both Mr. Henderson and the two Trades Councils might be a step fraught with serious consequences. The Free Trade Hall is built on the site of Peterloo. It was at the Free Trade Hall that the modern suffrage movement burst into life, owing to the refusal of certain Cabinet Ministers to say what the Government would do regarding that great question and the arrest of the women who asked the questions. Is the Free Trade Hall about to become the starting-point of a great movement towards international reconciliation? There is an impression abroad that Mr. Henderson has weakened on the Stockholm question. This meeting will we hope enable him to dispel it.

AIR RAIDS AND REPRISALS.

MR. BONAR LAW said on October 22nd at the Albert Hall: "During the last month the Air Services dropped 8,000 bombs behind the German lines. In the same period the Germans dropped about 1,000 bombs behind our lines."

Then how can reprisals stop the air raids?

THE TRIBUNAL.

BERNARD J. BOOTHROYD, until recently editor of *The Tribunal* and assistant editor of *The Ploughshare*, was one of the few who, in the early days of the first Military Service Act, obtained complete exemption on conscientious grounds, without the imposition of any conditions. In January of the present year the Finchley Tribunal reviewed his certificate on the application of the military authorities, cancelled it, and gave him exemption on condition that he undertook "work of national importance." Mr. Boothroyd steadfastly maintained the position that his work as editor of *The Tribunal* was already of national importance, and that he could accept no other. On Tuesday, October 16th, 1917, he was arrested as an absentee, fined 40*s*., and handed over to the military authorities by the Bow Street magistrate on the following (Wednesday) morning.

On Wednesday afternoon the police raided the London premises of the National Labour Press, with the intention of suppressing the issue of *The Tribunal* for the week, which, however, had already been printed and delivered. As in the case of *The Dreadnought* the police induced the manager, Mr. Moss, to sign an undertaking not to print any further issues of *The Tribunal*.

HOUSING IN ROME.

MOST interesting news from Italy is given in an article on the 'Town Home of the Future,' by A. M. Allan in Tuesday's *Daily News*, who describes the working-class flats erected by the Beni Stabili (The Good Dwellings Society) of Rome. Eight hundred dwellings are erected on four sides of a garden in which stands the children's house. There are cycle storage and a telephone porter's office for the use of all, a garden for all, and a garden for the children, and for a small fee hot baths. The children's house provides Montessori and other teaching for children up to 7 years of age. There is a schoolroom in which the older children do their home lessons. In the same building is a women's common room fitted with electric sewing machines and electric irons which may be used for a small fee; also cutting out and sewing tables. In the basement is a common wash-house. There is also an up-to-date surgery and dentist's room. The school children are examined by the doctor in school free of charge once a week and grown-ups are treated free on visiting the surgery at stated times. A franc is charged for visits to the homes. There is also an infirmary. The rents are not as cheap as the cheapest working-class dwellings; but by no means the most expensive. The scheme pays commercially. In the next block of flats a common kitchen will be added.

NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE.

MR. ISRAEL ZANGWILL writes to know what we think should be done to put matters right in the insurance cases we quoted in our issue of October 20. We think that the Insurance Act should be amended so as to make insurance non-contributory and the private insurance societies should have no part in it. If it is not possible at present to secure this, we think that the name and address of the Approved Society should be printed or written on each card, so that the chances of its going astray might be minimised. If the card be lost, proof that the worker was employed should be sufficient to procure insurance benefit. We are glad to say that one of our readers, Mrs. Scott Troy, sent £3 to aid one of the persons whose cases we cited.

DICKENS UP-TO-DATE.

A CERTAIN Dr. Toogood has been telling *The Daily Express* that as a nation we English have always eaten too much, and that he has reduced the bread ration from 24 ounces to 8 ounces a day at the Infirmary where he is medical superintendent. He says the old people have not grumbled so much since then. Perhaps they are afraid to!

FIGHTING TO THE LAST SHILLING.

The Daily Chronicle gives a list of drapers who have increased their profits during the war. From this list we take the three following cases:—

Messrs. John Howell & Co., of St. Paul's Churchyard, easily quadrupled their profits, which last year amounted to £42,200, as against £10,600 for the year preceding the outbreak of war.

Messrs. Pawsons & Leaf's in the same period increased their profits from £7,600 to £35,850. The last figure is arrived at after making provision for the excess profits duty and the income tax.

In 1913 the profits of Messrs. Crocker, Sons and Co. amounted to £8,000. For 1916 they were £24,600 after providing for the excess profits duty.

VOTES FOR AMERICAN WOMEN AND SOLDIERS.

AMERICAN soldiers and sailors in Europe are to vote in the New York State elections, and in the referendum to decide whether the women of New York State shall be enfranchised, on an adult suffrage basis at 21 years. We hope the women's cause may win the day, in which case 5,000,000 women will get the vote. Soldiers and sailors seem to be able to vote on anything except the question of peace or war.

VOTES FOR WOMEN IN SWEDEN.

THE new Swedish Government promises the maintenance of strict neutrality in foreign politics, also electoral reform, votes for women, and "unqualified communal vote," which we take to be adult suffrage in local government elections. The British Franchise Bill is much behind the times!

PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT.

OCTOBER 16TH Mr. Joynson-Hicks (U.) protested against the liberation of Mrs. Besant on the ground that her agitation in India is disloyal. As Commander Wedgwood (L.) pointed out she is merely advocating Home Rule which exists in various parts of the Empire. The jingoes do not seem to appreciate the fact that Mrs. Besant is pro-War.

PETROLEUM BILL.

A BILL to give His Majesty power to get petroleum in the United Kingdom was introduced. It guarantees that ninepence for every ton of crude petroleum produced be paid to those interested in the land from which it is recovered. Objection was taken to this by Mr. Chancellor (L.). But we know that so long as private ownership exists compensation will be demanded by the owners of land.

POPE'S PEACE NOTE.

OCTOBER 17TH. A Catholic Conference was held in Granada recently; delegates from enemy and allied countries attended it. In reply to Mr. Ramsay Macdonald (Lab.) Lord R. Cecil explained that the Conference was held to commemorate the tercentenary of the Spanish divine Suarez. When the discussion turned to the Pope's Peace Note, the British delegates absented themselves. Why? Did they promise to do so before getting passports? Are only the workers debarred from international conferences?

* * * *

Lord R. Cecil admitted that a meeting is going to take place between the Allied Governments for the purpose of defining their war aims. It is high time that their war aims were "defined"!!

* * * *

Major Hunt (U.) complained of those who make speeches in favour of an "inconclusive peace." He advocated that all such speakers should be prosecuted and that all literature against the prosecution of the war be confiscated. Mr. Lees Smith (L.) suggested that measures should rather be taken against journals like *The National Review* and *The Morning Post*, extracts from which are distributed in Germany.

NO TIME FOR EDUCATION.

OCTOBER 19TH. The Education Bill, Mr. Bonar Law regretted, could not be passed this session.

* * * *

October 22nd. Irish members reported grave mismanagement in cross-Channel shipping which resulted in live stock dying in the yards and others deteriorating in value causing a loss of several thousands of pounds. Mr. Duke protested that the delay and consequent loss were unavoidable. What an outsider must wonder at is that Dublin should be almost on the verge of famine and that fat cattle die in her ports because of British mismanagement. Is this economy?

PEACE PROPAGANDA.

THE W.S.F. peace parades outside the House have made Mr. Butcher (U.) demand the prosecution of those who are responsible for these "disgraceful" exhibitions! Sir G. Cave said he had given instructions to have the parades stopped; but that he did not know whether it would be "worth while" to take proceedings!!? On Tuesday the police took away the banners of the W.S.F.

UNDERPAID WOMEN.

MR. W. THORNE (Lab.) stated that the firm of Newton, Chambers (Thorncliffe Iron Works), Chapeltown, are paying women making shells 22*s*. 6*d*. for a 53 hours' week instead of the prescribed 29*s*., and that women crane drivers only receive 23*s*. and 24*s*. a week of 53 hours, which is much below the proper rates. Mr. Kellaway said he was awaiting a report from the firm. Where the woman worker is at fault, her side of the case is seldom considered.

REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE BILL.

WITH the exception of Tuesday every day was occupied with debating the Franchise Bill. Sir J. Lonsdale (U.) moved that the redistribution of seats should apply to Ireland as well as to Great Britain. His argument was that the representation of Ulster would be increased by three if the same system of redistribution were applied to Ireland. A storm of opposition met this suggestion. Mr. John Redmond (I.N.) urged that the Convention now sitting in Dublin might come to a decision which would render any change in the Boundaries useless. Sir G. Cave showed by his speech that a plot is in being, but whether the effect will be to wreck the Reform Bill or drive Ireland into open revolt, and thus annul any good done by the Convention, it is difficult to foretell. He said that the Government will either cut Ireland out of the new franchise or insist upon redistribution. The loss of time and the prolongation of the debates on this measure caused by raising the Irish question do not seem to occur to the Government. Mr. Maurice Healy (I.N.) feared that the intention of the plotters was to strike Ireland out altogether. The Sinn Fein party will only welcome this as another evidence of the British Government's incompetence and contrast its muddling with their own bold proclamation of Easter week. Sir G. Cave, when Clause 18 was raised, announced that he would prefer to move his "proxy amendment" another time. Mr. Dickinson (L.) succeeded in having the paragraph which demands that women should state that they have reached the required age made applicable in the case of men. A small victory; but perhaps the age inequality may be brought home to those in charge of the Bill even at the last moment as the need (?) for redistribution in Ireland has just been!

The amendment proposed and accepted by Sir George Cave that the question to be put to women at election times should be "Have you already voted at this general election in respect of your own or your husband's local government qualification?" caused much comment, the general feeling being that a question put to a woman should be "clearer and simpler"!

THE POLICE COURT.

THE PRESENT.

(Taken from *The Daily Telegraph*, Saturday, October 13th, 1917.)

"MR. MEAD AND WOMEN POLICE.

MR. MEAD again ventilated, at Marlborough Street, his apparent objection to the employment of women police patrols in a certain class of cases. One of the numerous charges of improper conduct in Hyde Park had been testified to by a constable, who said he had a woman patrol to corroborate his evidence.

Mr. Mead requested her to enter the witness-box, and said "Have you chosen this occupation of your own free will?"

The Woman Patrol: Yes, I have.

Mr. Mead: I won't put the Court to the pain of hearing the details of this case from a woman. Stand down."

[The constable's evidence was accepted, and the prisoners were fined.]

THE FUTURE.

A charge of improper conduct in Hyde Park had been testified to by a constable, who said he had a woman patrol to corroborate his evidence.

A male magistrate requested her to enter the witness-box, and said, "Have you chosen this occupation of your own free will?"

The Woman Patrol: Yes, I have.

Man magistrate: This is a case which more particularly concerns a woman and on which we shall rely mainly on a woman's evidence (turns to woman magistrate seated by his side), therefore I shall be glad, Mrs. Need, if you will take the case, though of course I will remain in court in case I can help you.

Woman magistrate: Before proceeding I wish to know for what purpose the man who has just entered is here.

Man indicated: I thought the case would interest me.

Woman magistrate: Why?

Man: —er—because er—it's an interesting case.

Woman magistrate: Do you mean because it's what used to be called a "spicy" subject.

Man: Well, it's—er—er—interesting.

Woman magistrate: Can you explain to me any good purpose your presence will serve?

Man: Well, er—I've nothing more important to do.

Woman magistrate: I don't think any communal service will be forwarded by the presence of this man. Mr. Usher, would you find him something to do. The woman whose case we are going to hear appears to me to need quiet and rest. He might make my room ready for her—light the fire, &c.—so that she may sit there for a time after the case is finished.

J. E. F.

THE LATEST PUZZLE.

How much will it cost the nation to employ Mrs. Pember Reeves, Mrs. C. S. Peel, and eighty other speakers to teach the senior school children to eat slowly?

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WHAT'S ON?

W.S.F. FIXTURES.

OUTDOOR.

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 28th.
Osborn Street, Whitechapel, 11.30 A.M., Mrs. Bouvier.
Salmon and Ball, 12 (noon), Mrs. Walker.
Finsbury Park, 3.30 P.M., Mrs. Bouvier and others.
The Flagstaff, Hampstead, 3.30 P.M., Mrs. Walker.

GREAT PUSH FOR
Peace! Socialism! Votes for All!
EVERY SATURDAY.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 27th.
South East District. Meet at 11.30 A.M., and at 2.30 P.M. at 85, Camberwell Grove. Secretary for the day: Mrs. Cole, 85, Camberwell Grove. Meetings 12 (noon) and 3 P.M. Speakers: Mrs. Bouvier, Miss Lynch, Mrs. Walker, Mr. H. G. Russell.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 3rd.
St. Pancras District.

INDOOR.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 29th.
53, St. Leonard's Street, 2.30 P.M., Mrs. Bouvier.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 1st.
Unitarian Church Hall, High Road, Ilford, 2.45 P.M. Mrs. Bouvier.
Kelveden Hall, Fulham, 8 P.M., Mrs. Bouvier.
29*b*, Lincoln's Inn Fields, 3.30 P.M., Mrs. Rosa Hobhouse, 'One Standard of Values.' Chair: Edward Fuller.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

WALTHAMSTOW LEAGUE OF RIGHTS.
William Morris Hall, Somers Road, 2.30 P.M., Mrs. Birch.

FEDERATION NOTES

WEATHER permitting the "Big Push" Campaign will be carried on every Saturday. Our effort last Saturday was well supported by members and friends of our Kensal Rise Branch. To-day Saturday we shall be in the south-east district.

All believers in Peace by negotiations should volunteer to take part in Peace Picketing outside House of Commons on weekdays and outside churches on Sundays. Send in your names to Miss S. Pankhurst.

Owing to moonlight there will be no lectures in the Bow Women's Hall until Sunday, November 11th, when Mr. Miles Malleson will give a Reading at 6.30 P.M.

The At Home on Thursday, November 1st, at 29*b* Lincoln's Inn Fields will be held at 3.30 P.M.

OLD COCKNEY FAIR.

PREPARATIONS are being made for the "Old Cockney Fair," which will be held on December 14th and 15th. There will be stalls for: Fruit, Toys, Literature, Fancy Goods, Vegetables, Curios, Christmas Cards, Grocery, Flowers, Garments, Bran Pie, Tobacco, Pottery, Hats.

The children, will give Miles Malleson's fairy play "Paddly Pools," and there will be other entertainments. Will friends kindly send contributions to the stalls, and volunteer as helpers? Please communicate with Miss A. E. Tollemache, 400, Old Ford Road, E.3.

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Secretary, F. BIRMINGHAM, National Union of Clerks, 51 Cleveland Park Avenue, Walthamstow.

THE LABOUR PARTY.

(*Continued from p.* 872.)

The Executive's suggestion that the men and women members should be enrolled in separate sections does not appeal to us. We can approve the organisation, as such, of housewives or mothers, but in the general work of the Labour Movement and in the Local Labour Parties we think that men and women should work together. This is perhaps intended; the statement does not make the point clear.

With the suggested basis of representation for women we find ourselves in strong disagreement. It is proposed, according to Mr. Webb (again the official circular is somewhat vague), to elect four women members to the Executive, these women being nominated by all the constituent bodies. We do not know whether women may be included amongst the eleven nominees of the Trade Unions and other affiliated organisations, or amongst the five nominees of the individually enrolled men, but if our reading of Mr. Webb's article is correct, it is not proposed to extend to the individually enrolled women the privilege, suggested for the men, of nominating a section of the Committee. It is possible that in open competition the women would not secure four seats on an Executive of twenty at the present time. But the proportion of women likely to secure election must be, in the long run, mainly dependent on the proportion of women which is active in the Movement. We think that on the whole, it is best to leave women and men to take their chances evenly. Ultimately the tendency will be towards the election of an equal number of men and women. Where men and women vote and are nominated on equal terms it is fundamentally best to select them for their opinions and ability, not because they happen to be men or women. The special disabilities under which women have been placed through their political disfranchisement and unremunerated labour may entitle them to have a proportion of executive places specially set aside for them. But nothing could excuse the artificial limitation of the number of women to be elected. We hope that it is not proposed to *limit* the number of women representatives to four, but that the proposal is to ensure that there shall be not less than four women representatives. If this is not the present proposal it should be altered in this sense.

The Co-operative Movement has determined to come out into the field of politics. In the programme adopted at its recent conference Socialism appears in vaguer form than in the suggested draft programme of the Labour Party. At the Joint Conference of Co-operators and Trade Unionists to be held in Manchester on October 27th, further steps towards the merging of the Co-operative and Trade Union Movements will no doubt be taken, and eventually the co-operators will become an integral part of the Labour Party. They seem likely to form its most conservative wing. The Co-operative Movement will cease to be the conservative wing of the Labour Movement when its own inner conflict is solved, by the workers in the co-operative shops and industries gaining democratic self-government and the right to manage on democratic principles the shops and industries in which they work. The difficulties in the way of accomplishing this in the midst of a capitalist system of society are great, but they must be and will be overcome in the co-operative industries, as they will be in industry as a whole. In this emancipation the Co-operative Movement should lead the way. The formation of a Union of Co-operative Employees is a step in this direction. Though the Amalgamated Union of Co-operative Employees is much criticised and may have, for all we know, many faults of personnel, this or some other industrial union of co-operative employees will undoubtedly persist and will grow till all the co-operative employees are enrolled within it.

Those who desire the British Labour Party to be an effective force in the march of evolution, should endeavour to make it a genuine Socialist organisation; should look well to the industrial organisation of the workers, from the strength of which the Party must derive much of its driving power; and should see to it that women are offered, and both accept and fulfil, a share of the Party's work equal to that of men. The Political Labour Party of to-day is even more lacking in vigour and independence of spirit than in actual numbers. Any proposals tending to rush into its ranks masses of non-workers, non-trade unionists, and non-Socialists should be entirely recast.

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The fact of a married man becoming automatically **POORER** at the birth of each child constitutes a cruel wrong to all children, and until each child has 5/- a week in its own individual right, as an infant citizen, suffering, war, disease, and poverty can never be abolished. Let us all demand this from the Government now before it may be too late.

Yours truly,
A CHILD LOVER.

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